# Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

09NOV 2017

(Date)

.(Revised 1/3/11)

Date/Time Stamp:

RECEIVED

SECRETARY OF THE SENATE PUBLIC RECORDS

(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

Form RE-2

Post-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete this form within 30 days of returning from 2017 NOV -9 PM 4: 57, travel. Submit all forms to the Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building.

		ic Records in 232 Hart	-	
be reimbursed/paid for a	me. I also certify that	I nave anached.		avel expenses that have been or wil
A <u>copy</u> of the <i>Privat</i>	te Sponsor Travel Cer The Aspen Ins	rization (Form RE-1), <u>A</u> tification Form with all stitute, Inc. (Congres	attacimionto (minoral)	, invitee list, etc.)
Private Sponsor(s) (list	all):	_ <del></del>		
Octobe Travel date(s):	er 9- October 13, 2		•	<u> </u>
Name of accompanying	family member (if a	ny): Child		<u> </u>
Relationship to Travele				ONE W
INCLUDE LODGING C	OSTS IN EMPLOYEE	EASE DUE TO THE ACC EXPENSES. (Attach addit	OMPANYING SPOUS ional pages if necessary	E OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY
Expenses for Employe	ee: Transportation	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
	Expenses			(Amount & Description)
☑ Good Faith Estimate	\$1,550	\$537	\$210	\$137 meeting room expenses
☐ Actual Amount				
Expenses for Accomi	panying Spouse or De	ependent Child (if applie	cable):	
			Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
Exhenses for Account	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	1VICAL EXPENSES	(Amount & Description)
☐ Good Faith Estimate	Transportation	Lodging Expenses	IVICAL EXPENSES	(Amount & Description)
☐ Good Faith	Transportation	Lodging Expenses		(Amount & Description)
Good Faith Estimate Actual Amount  Provide a description necessary.):	Transportation Expenses  of all meetings and e			(Amount & Description)  Attach additional pages if
Good Faith Estimate Actual Amount  Provide a description	Transportation Expenses  of all meetings and e			
Good Faith Estimate Actual Amount  Provide a description necessary.):	Transportation Expenses  of all meetings and elements  enda	vents attended. See Sena	te Rule 35.2(c)(6). (A	
Good Faith Estimate Actual Amount  Provide a description necessary.):  See attached age  11 / 9 / 17 (Date)	Transportation Expenses  of all meetings and elementa  Thomas  (Printed)	events attended. See Sena	te Rule 35.2(c)(6). (4)	Attach additional pages if  Callah

# PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should NOT submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee MUST also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1.	Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors):
	The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2.	Description of the trip:An extensive analysis of European security concerns and Russian
	assertiveness and the impact on U.S. foreign policy.
١.	Dates of travel: Oct. 9, 2017-Oct. 13, 2017
<b>l</b> .	Place of travel: Warsaw, Poland
i.	Name and title of Senate invitees: See attached list
j.	I certify that the trip fits one of the following categories:  (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.
	(B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (see question 9).
7.	I certify that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.  - AND -
	I certify that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8.	I certify that:  The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for de minimis lobbyist involvement.  AND
	The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principa except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (see question 9).

9.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)  [I certify that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:
	(A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member officer, or employee on any segment of the trip.
	(B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).
	(C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.
10.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)  If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:
11.	An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I certify that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hourby-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.
12.	Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:
	The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is the sole sponsor of this conference and developed
	the agenda, organized the travel, planned the conference, and invited the participants
13.	Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:  Aspen Institute's Congressional Program (AICP) is a non-profit organization, and its broad mission is  conducting nonpartisan forums and the exchange of ideas, on issues impacting the United States and the world. The Aspen Institute Congressional Program's conference in Warshw, Poland is for congressional staff members to take an In-depth look at European security, Russian assertiveness and
	the impact on US foreign policy.
14.	Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:
	The Aspen Institute Congressional Program has a 34-year history of conducting non-partisan education
	forums for members of Congress.
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

In addition to the confe				
congressional staff me	mbers-each event offer	ring a leading scholar	r on a key national	or international
issue. One congressio	nal staff conference pe	r year is offered on a	key foreign or dom	restic issue.
Total Expenses for Eac	h Participant:			
A)	Transportation Expenses	Lodging	Meal Expenses	Oibei
Good Faith estimate	\$2,000	\$537	\$210	\$137 meeting roo expenses
Amounts				
State whether a) the tri	p involves an event tha	t is arranged or organ	nized without regar	d to congression
State whether a) the triparticipation or b) the congressional participation.  The conference is organical congressional conference is organical conference.	trip involves an event tation:	hat is arranged or org	ganized specifically	d to congressions with regard to
participation or b) the congressional participation.  The conference is organized to the conf	trip involves an event to ation: anized specifically with	hat is arranged or org	ganized specifically	d to congressions with regard to
participation or b) the congressional participation.  The conference is organized as a selecting the conference is congressional participation.	trip involves an event to ation: anized specifically with	regard to congression	ganized specifically	with regard to
participation or b) the congressional participation.  The conference is organized in the conference in the conference in the conference is organized in the conference in the conf	trip involves an event to ation: anized specifically with the location of the event	regard to congression or trip	nal participation.	Russians & expe
Participation or b) the congressional participal The conference is organized Reason for selecting the Warsaw, Poland proving from the region to proving the conference is organized to proving the region to proving the reg	trip involves an event to ation: anized specifically with the location of the event des a central meeting provide analysis of Europe	regard to congression or trip coint for international an security issues, R	nal participation.	Russians & expe
Participation or b) the congressional participal The conference is organized Reason for selecting the Warsaw, Poland proving from the region to proving the Name and location of the congressional participal and location of the conference is organized as a selecting the conference is	trip involves an event to ation: anized specifically with the location of the event des a central meeting provide analysis of Europe hotel or other lodging for	regard to congression or trip coint for international an security issues, R	nal participation.	Russians & expe
Participation or b) the congressional participal The conference is organized Reason for selecting the Warsaw, Poland proving from the region to proving the conference is organized to proving the region to proving the reg	trip involves an event to ation: anized specifically with the location of the event des a central meeting provide analysis of Europe hotel or other lodging for	regard to congression or trip coint for international an security issues, R	nal participation.	Russians & expe
Participation or b) the congressional participal The conference is organized Reason for selecting the Warsaw, Poland proving from the region to proving the Name and location of the congressional participal and location of the conference is organized as a selecting the conference is	trip involves an event to ation: anized specifically with the location of the event des a central meeting provide analysis of Europe hotel or other lodging for the poland	regard to congression or trip coint for international an security issues, Readility:	nal participation.	Russians & expe

escribe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants impares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:		
Lodgine and meals are both under the published per diem for the time period.		
Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:		
Coach class flights on commercial airline carrier		
I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).		
List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:		
None ,		
I hereby certify that the information contained herdin is true, complete and correct. (You must include the completed signature block below for each travel sporeor.):  Signature of Travel Sponsor:		
Name and Title: Dan Glickman, Vice President, Aspen Institute; Executive Director, Congressional Program		
Name of Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)		
Address: 1 Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, DC 20036		
Telephone Number: 202-736-5859 (Lisa Jones)		
Fax Number: NA		
E-mail Address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org		

# Answer to Question 5 on the Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form

The invitees reflect a bipartisan delegation representing different geographical areas of the country, having various committee assignments with relevance to policy issues dealing with foreign policy. These Senate staffers have an interest in deeper analysis with the benefit of American and international scholars.

Allyson Bell, Chief of Staff, Senator Mike Lee

Sarah Benzing, Chief of Staff, Senator Sherrod Brown

Thomas Callahan, Senior Professional Staff, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Jessica Elledge, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Chris Murphy

Rosie Heiss, Senior Advisor, Senator Mark Warner

Ryan Kaldahl, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Susan Collins

Rob Leonard, National Security Advisor, Senator Dick Durbin

Maria Mahler-Haug, Military Legislative Assistant, Senator Michael Bennet

Tom Mancinelli, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Chris Coons

James Mazol, National Security Advisor, Senator Roger Wicker

Phil McGovern, Senior National Security Policy Advisor, Senator Ed Markey

Rick Nussio, Professional Staff Member, Senate Intelligence Committee

Ben Purser, Senator Foreign Relations Committee, Professional Staff Member

Cooper Reveley, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Jack Reed

Chris Slevin, Legislative Director, Senator Cory Booker

Chris Socha, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Jim Risch

Jessica Philips Tyson, Legislative Assistant, Senator Lindsey Graham

Lydia Westlake, Homeland Security Legislative Assistant, Senator Ron Johnson

Ben Widness, Senior Advisor for Defense & Foreign Policy, Senator Ron Wyden

Robert Zarate, Senior Foreign Policy Advisor, Senator Marco Rubio

## **Appendix to Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form**

Aspen Institute Congressional Program – European Security and Russian Assertiveness – Oct. 9-13, 2017

Question 1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors) – The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

Aspen Institute is the sole sponsor of this European Security and Assertiveness of Russia conference. The organization has received general support and unrestricted funds from The Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip.

Question 14. On occasion, other policy and public programs of the Aspen Institute sponsor trips that involve members of Congress or congressional staff.

Question: 15. The Aspen Institute holds numerous educational activities, including conferences, roundtables, briefings and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the U.S. and the world.

## Question 16.

Daily breakdown of meeting room expenses for the per person total of \$137:

Oct. 10 - \$45.67

Oct. 11 - \$45.67

Oct. 12 - \$45.67

# EUROPEAN SECURITY & RUSSIAN ASSERTIVENESS: CHALLENGES FOR U.S. POLICY

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM CONGRESSIONAL STAFF CONFERENCE October 9-13, Warsaw, Poland

MONDAY, October 9:

Congressional staff participants depart Washington, DC at 6:10 pm on Air France 55.

TUESDAY, October 10:

Congressional staff participants arrive in Warsaw at 11:55 am on Air France #1146.

1:30-2:30 pm

Luncheon remarks

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

Dan Glickman, Executive Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Dan Glickman will introduce the scholars for the "European Security & Russian Assertiveness: Challenges for U.S. Policy" conference and briefly outline their expertise. The conference was designed to incorporate scholarship from the entire region, including Poland, Germany, Russia, Latvia, Italy and Hungary. Glickman will highlight how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized and how responses will be timed to allow for as many questions and answers as possible. This format is especially important to guarantee full participation with so many knowledgeable and experienced people around the table, not only the speakers on each panel.

3:00-5:00 pm

Walking Educational Site Visit

WARSAW'S HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

WWII'S IMPACT AND RELEVANCE FOR U.S. POLICY

Slawomir Debski, Director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw, will lead an educational visit to Warsaw's historic 13<sup>th</sup> Century Old Town, with an accompanying briefing on historical issues. This presentation will describe the security environment that contributes significantly to the political framework in Poland. During the Invasion of Poland (1939), much of the district was badly damaged by the German Luftwaffe, which targeted the city's residential areas and historic landmarks in a campaign of terror bombing. Following the Siege of Warsaw, parts of the Old Town were rebuilt, but immediately after the Warsaw Uprising (August–October 1944) what had been left standing was systematically blown up by the German Army. After World War II, the Old Town was meticulously rebuilt. Warsaw hosted the 2016 NATO summit, which was the main forum for NATO governments to determine their ongoing response to Russian aggression in Ukraine, and potential challenges from Russia in the wider Baltic region. This physical place

offers reminders and symbols of each of the key historical developments that have shaped the European security landscape today. This briefing will provide Senate staff with an understanding of the unique place of this city in the history of Cold War and post-Cold War tensions between Russia and the West. This is important for understanding U.S. security priorities not just with Poland, but with Europe as a whole.

5:00 pm

#### **WARSAW WILL NOT FORGET**

We will have a group screening of this documentary film of Poland's struggle during WWII which depicts with dramatic footage the nearly total devastation that Warsaw suffered in WWII. This will provide Senate staff a historical backdrop to current Polish attitudes about European security.

5:30 pm

Pre-dinner remarks

# SETTING THE STAGE: WHY EUROPEAN SECURITY AND RUSSIAN ASSERTIVENESS IS A CHALLENGE FOR U.S. POLICY

Matthew Rojansky, Director, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center Matthew Rojansky will offer some initial observations regarding Russian policy decision-making and priorities, which are relevant for understanding current U.S. policy challenges with Russia. He will address the latest rounds of U.S. sanctions and Russian counter-sanctions, and their impacts on various aspects of the relationship, as well as the most recent Russian military exercise in the region, Zapad 2017, and the NATO exercise, Dragon 17. Finally, he will give a report on the state of U.S.-Russia relations as seen from Moscow based on his visit to Russia in late September.

6:00-8:00 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and Congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on European security and Russian assertiveness and the challenges for U.S. policy.

### WEDNESDAY, October 11:

7:30-9:00 am Breakfast for all participants

9:00 am Roundtable Discussions

## THE STATE OF THE U.S.-RUSSIA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

U.S.-Russia relations appear to be at their lowest point for decades, with little prospect of improvement in the near term. Continuing tensions over Ukraine, Syria and other global issues have been exacerbated by allegations that Russia "hacked" the 2016 U.S. election. Yet the relationship between Moscow and Washington is arguably the single most consequential bilateral relationship for U.S. and global security. Are the

two countries set on an inevitable "collision course" in their respective foreign policies, dictated by divergent national interests and worldviews, or is the current impasse more a function of specific policy disagreements or tensions between stakeholders?

- What are Russia's national interests? What are Russia's aspirations for its role in the world?
- How do Russia's perceptions of its national interests affect Russia's policy toward the U.S., the European Union, former Soviet states? Does Russia view the U.S. and its European neighbors as threats?
- What are the risks of continued or deepening U.S.-Russia conflict?
- How does each side perceive the role of "hacking" and "cyber attacks" during the 2016 U.S. election and how does this impact core foreign policy concerns?
- What kind of U.S. policies are likely to lead to an outcome where Russia is less of a threat and/or adversary?

**David Herszenhorn**, former New York Times Moscow correspondent, European correspondent for POLITICO, Brussels **Andrei Sushentsov**, Program Director, Valdai Discussion Club Foundation, Moscow

#### 10:30 am THE RUSSIAN ECONOMY AND DOMESTIC POLITICS

Under Western sanctions and formal diplomatic isolation since the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis in 2014, Russia has suffered economic decline exacerbated by low global energy and commodity prices and its own lack of structural reform. On several occasions this year alone, thousands of young Russians have turned out in protest against official corruption, in cities across the country. Yet the Russian economy appears set to recover ground in 2017, and Russia's government has not suffered the negative political consequences that many Western experts predicted. For President Vladimir Putin, who remains consistently popular, the signs all point to yet another successful "managed election" in March 2018, allowing him to legally stay in power through 2024.

- What is the national mood in Russia today, and what are people's main concerns?
- What is the state of the Russian media, civil society, and independent political activity?
- What is the role of nationalism and the politics of historical memory/mythology in Russian politics?
- Is Russia effectively isolated as a result of Western sanctions?
   How has it pursued non-Western economic relationships and developed new trading blocs as an alternative?

- Is Russia a state in decline or a rising global power? What are Russia's aspirations regarding its role in the world?
- What is the explanation for Vladimir Putin's continuing high popularity? Is it appropriate to think in terms of the longevity of the "Putin system"?

Kirill Rogov, Senior Researcher, Liberal Mission Foundation, Moscow Gwendolyn Sasse, Director, Center for East European and International Studies, Berlin

Noon-2:00 pm

**Luncheon Remarks** 

#### CAN RUSSIA EVER BE A DEMOCRACY?

Ivan Krastev, Chair, Center for Liberal Studies, Sofia

Ivan Krastev has written extensively on Russian domestic politics as well as Russian-European-U.S. relations. He will address the central question of whether a positive change in Russia's domestic politics is possible or likely, and what if any role the U.S.-Russia relationship plays in that. He will also offer his own perspective on Russian decision-making, and assess whether and how the kinds of incentives and punishments imposed by Western governments are likely to influence Russian policy.

2:00-5:00 pm

### **EDUCATIONAL SITE VISIT TO THE POLIN MUSEUM**

Dariusz Stola, Director of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews (POLIN), which just opened two years ago, will lead us on an educational visit to this narrative museum with an accompanying presentation on the 1,000-year history of Polish Jews. The museum is the first public-private partnership in Poland, created jointly by the government, the local government, and a non-governmental organization, and its mission is to recall and preserve the memory of the history of Polish Jews and to contribute to the mutual understanding and respect amongst Poles and Jews as well as other societies of Europe and the world. Before the outbreak of World War II, more than 3.3 million Jews lived in Poland, the largest Jewish population of Europe and second largest Jewish community in the world. After the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, ghettos were established in Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin, Radom and Lvov. By 1942, all Polish Jews were either confined to ghettos or hiding; more than half a million lived in Warsaw's ghetto. Barely 11 percent of Poland's Jews - 369,000 - survived the war. The POLIN Museum is part of a Jewish revival that has occurred since the fall of communism in Poland. The POLIN museum is the single most important museum related to the experience of Jews in Europe over the last century. This briefing will help Senate staff understand how the Jewish experience has shaped public perceptions in Europe, especially among Americans with family ties to the region. That continues to be true, especially today, when the experience of religious minorities (Jews, Muslims, Roma, and others) is a major factor in U.S. policies towards Russia, Poland, and other regional states.

7:00-9:00 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and Congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on European security and Russian assertiveness and the challenges for U.S. policy.

## THURSDAY, October 12:

7:30-9:00 am Breakfast for all participants

9:00 am Roundtable Discussions

**UKRAINE, RUSSIA AND THE WEST** 

The crisis in Ukraine is now the most acute consequence of the failure over a quarter century to establish an inclusive Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security architecture within which both Russian and Western security interests can be accommodated. The ongoing conflict in Ukraine's Eastern region costs more lives than any other in the post-Soviet region, and appears to be an effective Russian "veto" over Ukraine's closer cooperation with the West, including with NATO. Moreover, the ongoing conflict complicates debates around domestic problems in Ukraine, where oligarchs still exercise a degree of control over politics, media and the economy reminiscent of the pre-Maidan era, "fake news" is ubiquitous, and nationalist forces peddle simplistic but divisive populism. The forcible annexation of Crimea by Russia remains a sore spot in this complex relationship.

- What is the state of the conflict in Ukraine now?
- What is Russia's motivation for intervening in Ukraine? How does it see U.S. and European involvement there?
- Can the Minsk agreements be salvaged as a framework for managing and resolving the Donbas conflict?
- What is the likelihood of further major Russian interference in the former Soviet space? How vulnerable are other states in the post-Soviet region, such as Moldova, Georgia, or Belarus?
- What are the prospects for the dispute over Crimea? Will this be an indefinite obstacle to productive relations between Ukraine and Russia, and between Russia and the West?
- What U.S. and European policies are likely to help lessen the Russian threat to its neighbors?

Wojciech Kononczuk, Senior Scholar, Center for Eastern Studies, Warsaw Oleksii Semenii, Director, Institute for Global Transformations, Kyiv

#### 10:30 am

### **U.S.-RUSSIA-NATO SECURITY RELATIONS**

Russians assert that two decades of NATO enlargement have demonstrated Washington's indifference to Russian security concerns. Meanwhile, U.S. allies in NATO identify Russia as an acute threat to their security, and point to Russia's "hybrid" and conventional attacks on Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia and other states as proof of Moscow's aggressive intentions. With both Moscow and Washington accusing the other side of violating foundational nuclear arms control treaties, frequent "near miss" incidents in the air and at sea, and increasing concentrations of conventional military forces operating in close proximity to one another in the Baltic, Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean regions, the risks of escalation are serious with potentially disastrous consequences.

- Why does Russia see NATO enlargement as a threat?
- What is the risk of military conflict between Russia and NATO, and what can be done to reduce that risk?
- How do European states closest to Russia (the Baltics, Poland, and the Black Sea region) think about their own security and the broader problems for the region?
- What are the prospects for additional negotiated or unilateral nuclear weapons reductions by the U.S. and Russia?
- How does each side think about "stability"? Is a strategically stable relationship between nuclear powers desirable, or even possible?

Andis Kudors, Director, Center for East European Policy Studies, Riga Jeffrey Larsen, Director, Research Division, NATO Defense College, Rome

Noon-2:00 pm

Luncheon Remarks

# POLISH PERSPECTIVES ON NATO, RUSSIA, AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

Michal Baranowski and Slawomir Debski are two of the best known and leading Polish experts on transatlantic relations and European security. They will describe the role of U.S.-NATO and U.S.-Poland relations in shaping the West's collective response to the security challenges posed by Russia. They will also offer a Polish perspective on the conflict between two of its neighbors—Russia and Ukraine.

Michal Baranowski, Director, Warsaw office, German Marshall Fund, Warsaw Slawomir Debski, Director, Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw

## 2:00-4:00 pm EDUCATIONAL SITE VISIT OF THE WARSAW UPRISING MUSEUM

Wojciech Kononczuk, Senior Scholar at the Center for Eastern Studies in Warsaw will lead a visit to the Warsaw Rising Museum, with an accompanying briefing on the impact of the Warsaw Uprising. The Museum is a tribute of Warsaw's residents to those who fought and died for an independent Poland during WWII. The museum shows the struggle of everyday life before and during the Warsaw Uprising and the horror of occupation to the post-war communist era. The Warsaw uprising, which ended in bloody repression by the occupying German army, was a defining event of the twentieth century not just for citizens of Warsaw, but for all Poles. The museum not only presents these historical events, but the role of the events in the collective national identity of Poles for the half century that followed, including under Soviet occupation from 1944 to 1989. Understanding these issues, and the influence they have on Poland's views of both Germany and Russia, is vital for Americans to effectively manage relations with Poland today.

6:30-8:30 pm

#### Working Dinner

Scholars and Congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on European security and Russian assertiveness and the challenges for U.S. policy.

#### FRIDAY, October 13:

Congressional staff participants depart Warsaw at 6 am on KLM 1362 and arrive in Washington, DC at 3:35 pm on KLM 651.

PAT ROBERTS, KANSAS BRIAN JAMES E. RISCH, IDAHO JEANNE SHA

BRIAN SCHATZ, HAWAII JEANNE SHAHEEN, NEW HAMPSHIRE

DEBORAH SUE MAYER, CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR EMILY GERSHON, CHIEF CLERK

TELEPHONE: (202) 224-2981 FACSIMILE: (202) 224-7416 TDD: (202) 228-3752

## United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

October 3, 2017

Thomas J. Callahan Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Callahan:

This responds to your recent correspondence concerning an invitation you received to travel to the European Security and Russian Assertiveness: Challenges for U.S. Policy conference, in Warsaw, Poland, on October 9-13, 2017, sponsored by the Aspen Institute (Aspen). Aspen certified to the Select Committee on Ethics (the Committee) that it will pay the necessary expenses<sup>1</sup> related to the travel and that it is neither a lobbyist, nor lobbying firm, nor agent of a foreign principal, and it is not otherwise acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government. Aspen has also certified that it does not retain or employ a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal and that no registered lobbyist will accompany you at any point throughout your trip.<sup>2</sup>

Based on information and materials available to the Committee, and assuming the actual travel and travel-related expenses conform to the information and materials you provided, it appears that the proposed payment or reimbursement of necessary expenses for this trip may be accepted under relevant Senate Rules and the Committee's Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel, so long as at the time of the payment or reimbursement, Aspen is neither a registered lobbyist nor lobbying firm under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995, nor an agent of a foreign principal under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (and is not otherwise acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government), and provided the travel and all required documents are disclosed to the Secretary of the Senate in accordance with the provisions of Senate Rules 34 and 35.

Under Senate Rule 35, Senate staff must receive advance authorization signed by the Member or officer under whose direct supervision the individual works in order to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary expenses related to fact-finding travel. Further, such authorization and expenses must be disclosed to the Secretary of the Senate by filing the completed Employee Pre-Travel Authorization and the Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses (Form RE-1 and Form RE-2), along with a copy of the Private Sponsor Travel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The term "necessary expenses" has a specific definition. See Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms at 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The term "any point throughout your trip" has a specific definition. See Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms at 2.

Certification Form, and all relevant attachments (e.g., the private sponsor's invitation and itinerary) within 30 days of the conclusion of Privately-Sponsored Travel.

The Committee has determined that § 501(c)(3) non-profit organizations that are classified as private foundations, as opposed to public charities, may not pay for transportation from the United States to a foreign country. However, Aspen represented to the Committee that it is a § 501(c)(3) public charity, as opposed to a private foundation, pursuant to the Internal Revenue Code. 4

Please be advised that the United States Constitution prohibits the acceptance of any gift, including a meal, from a foreign government without the consent of Congress. In the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), Congress consented to the acceptance by federal government officials of: (1) gifts of minimal value and (2) travel or the expenses for travel taking place entirely outside the United States, from a foreign government (which includes those acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government). The Senate has defined minimal value as \$100 or less. Further, pursuant to FGDA, there are certain reporting and procedural requirements that are imposed upon Members, officers, and employees who accept gifts from a foreign government. Please review the Committee's "Dear Colleague" letter of January 9, 2015 setting forth the items to be included in filing that report.

Finally, Senate Rule 34 requires a reporting individual,<sup>6</sup> on his or her Financial Disclosure Report, to make an annual disclosure of the receipt of payments or reimbursements under Senate Rule 35 from a private sponsor for officially-related travel expenses where, in the aggregate, travel expenses exceed \$390 from that sponsor during a calendar year. However, if a Member, officer, or employee properly reports the receipt of necessary expenses for such travel to the Secretary of the Senate within 30 days of the travel, as discussed above, the travel expenses need not be disclosed a second time on their Financial Disclosure Report.

If you have any additional questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee.

Sincerely,

Deborah Sue Mayer

Chief Counsel and Staff Director

Deborah Sur Mayon

Enclosure: Travel Checklist

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See 26 U.S.C. § 4941 et seq. Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code broadly defines non-profit, charitable, tax-exempt organizations. These § 501(c)(3) organizations are then further defined or designated as "public charities" and "private foundations."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 26 U.S.C. § 501(c)(3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 5 U.S.C. § 7342.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A reporting individual is someone whose salary equals or exceeds 120% of the basic rate of pay for GS-15 (\$124,406 for CY 2017) or is a political fund designee and is required to file Financial Disclosure Reports.

TELEPHONE: (202) 224-2981 FACSIMILE: (202) 224-7418 TDD: (202) 228-3752

PAT ROBERTS, KANSAS BRIAN SCHATZ, HAWALI
JAMES E. RISCH, IDAHO JEANNE SHAHEEN, NEW HAMPSHIRE

DEBORAH SUE MAYER, CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR EMILY GERSHON, CHIEF CLERK

## Anited States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

# Employee Privately-Sponsored Travel Checklist

Employees must submit their completed Pre-Travel Authorization Package to the Select Committee on Ethics (the Committee) at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date. Incomplete Pre-Travel Authorization Packages and Packages submitted later than 30 days prior to the travel departure date will not be considered or approved. All of the forms and materials listed below are available as fillable PDFs on the Committee's website at <a href="http://www.ethics.senate.gov">http://www.ethics.senate.gov</a>.

## Pre-Travel Authorization

Review Senate Rules and the Committee's Privately-Sponsored Travel Guidelines on the

# Prior to Submitting a Pre-Travel Authorization Package to the Committee

Committee's website.
Ensure your supervising Senator or Officer (President of the Senate, Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, Secretary for the Majority, Secretary for the Minority, and Chaplain) has determined the expenses for the trip are necessary and reasonable.
Ensure your supervising Senator or Officer has certified the proposed travel is connected to your official duties and will not create any appearance of a public office being used for private gain.
At Least 30 Days Prior to Trayel: Submit Completed Pre-Travel Authorization Package
File with the Select Committee on Ethics in SH-220.
<ul> <li>Complete Employee Pre-Travel Authorization Form (Form RE-1)</li> <li>Ensure this form is typed and that all of the fields are completed.</li> </ul>
Ensure your supervising Senator or Officer has signed this form.
Personally sign this form.
Ensure Pre-Travel Authorization Package is complete. A complete Package includes:
Form RE-1
Private sponsor invitation (the formal invitation, letter or e-mail you received from the private sponsor).
Completed and signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form (4 page form
that includes detailed information about the trip).
All attachments to the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form
☐ Complete and final itinerary
List of Senate invitees
Any other necessary attachments
Retain a copy of your complete Pre-Travel Authorization Package for inclusion in your
required post-travel disclosure.

June 15, 2017

Dan Glickman	
Executive Director	

Congressional Program

Thomas Callahan Senior Professional Staff Senate Committee on Foreign Relations U.S. Senate Washington, DC 20510

#### Dear Thomas:

I would like to invite you to participate in a conference designed exclusively for the educational benefit of a bipartisan, bicameral group of senior congressional staff focusing on *European Security and Russian Assertiveness: Challenges for U.S. Policy* in Warsaw, Poland October 9-13, 2017 (including travel to and from Washington).

We have assembled a group of outstanding scholars from Warsaw, Berlin, Moscow, Kyiv, Riga, Brussels and Sofia to enhance the discussions. Matt Rojansky, Director of the Kennan Institute at the Wilson Center, will participate as well.

Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, press, or lobbyists. Funding for this project is provided by grants from the Henry Luce Foundation, the Democracy Fund, the MacArthur Foundation and Rockefeller Brothers Fund —no government, individual, foreign, corporate or special interest funds are accepted. We will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form affirming that no lobbyists fund this activity, that the Aspen Institute does not hire or retain lobbyists, and that no lobbyists will be present. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

Departure will be on Monday, October 9<sup>th</sup> and we will return to the U.S. on Friday, October 13<sup>th</sup>. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate throughout the duration of the conference. Your expenses, including airfare, lodging and meals, will be paid by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are covered for entertainment or recreation.

Additionally, we have luncheon meetings throughout the year for congressional staff with speakers on public policy challenges. We hope you will be able to participate in the extended educational offerings of this series. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Melissa Neal at 202-736-3858. I hope you will be able to join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

Dan Glickman

